1: Honigmann, E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

393 pattern may be summarily described as one in which the husband is rather consistently dominant or assertive and the wife relatively passive.

The principal material substantiating this pattern comes in the expectations of one spouse from the other and their fulfillment. Ideally the husband expects from his wife not only the obvious conveniences of living, such as a well kept house, prepared meals, clean clothes, and thrift, but usually also economic assistance, sexual faithfulness, loyalty, and personal comforts. These demands are all provided by most women. Thus a wife provides economic assistance through rabbit trapping, fur trapping, and even hunting. She supplies the raw materials for making moccasins and mittens, snowshoes, and line. While adultery occurs, it is not common and never flagrant. A wife is also careful not to gossip about her husband, nor does she criticize him before strangers. She offers him many small physical comforts, bringing tobacco, rolling cigarettes, putting on the husband's shoes, fetching his tools, and caring for him in illness. In addition a woman is more careful of her personal appearance when she expects her husband to return from a trip. A wife will also not absent herself from camp for long periods while the man is at home.

A woman, on the other hand, expects her husband to provide the principal food supply for herself and children; she demands sexual faithfulness and loyalty, but she is not apt readily to demand similar emotional comforts comparable to those which she herself is called upon to make in the marital relationship. She does, however, like her man to remain with her in camp when he is not otherwise occupied. Men are conscious of their economic obligations but are somewhat less reliable in fulfilling the other expectations. They certainly do not fulfill these to the extent that they are met by women. In the event of a wife's illness, however, most men demonstrate concern and solicitation.

393 Between spouses who have been living together for a long time, there is evidence of 132 considerable and deep emotional attachment. Old man confessed that when his second wife died he became extremely depressed, took to drinking heavily, and even attempted suicide. River Joe, a very recent widower, likewise spoke of his depression and worry. In a man or woman such emotional dependence is often rationalized as economic dependence, thus more being given to one of the main reasons for a widower to seek remarriage. On the other hand a number of widows were known during the period of field work who showed no desire to remarry. This indicates that, despite his greater assertiveness, the man is, in many respects, emotionally more dependent on his wife than she is on him.[3]

393 One of the warmest, if not the warmest, interpersonal relationship in Kaska society is that existing between siblings, particularly between sisters and between siblings of opposite sex. It is significant that the quality of sibling relations, as expressed by the use of kinship terms, tends to be projected into other social relationships characterized by strong affection and friendship. Thus lovers sometimes exchange brother and sister terms of address, while two men, whose friendship is particularly warm, may call each other "brother."

[illegible] Four terms are used to distinguish between siblings and are extended to parallel cousins. [illegible] While the pattern of warm sibling relations is also commonly extended to such cousins, especially where maternal cousins are thrown into association under conditions of matrilocal residence, it is in the nuclear family that age is most important in determining sibling

[3] See the discussion relating to the status of adult women below pp. 137–138, 140.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

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behavior. Sometimes age status is counteracted by the dominance of a younger sibling, but in general the older boy or girl in from childhood permitted a measure of authority and responsibility over younger siblings. Early in life children are made aware that they must protect and care for younger or weaker siblings, and these attitudes also tend to persist through life. Thus a widow, who has lost her parents, is assured of care by married brothers or sisters. Siblings are taught not to fight or tease each other, and boys are warned not to ridicule their sisters for fear that their mouths may become twisted. The ties between siblings do not relax with marriage and the custom of matrilocal residence often serves to keep sisters together. The most demonstrative greetings are exhibited between sisters who have been separated, while within a matrilocal settlement, sisters exhibit the most gracious and spontaneous cooperation. Among men the sibling relationship is less demonstrative and more apt to be marked by friction. Between like sexed siblings there are no taboos on sexual conversation. Brothers and sisters will shy away from this subject and may also embarrassedly avoid any situation in which a sibling of opposite sex is in sexual interaction.

Kinship

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Individuals related by blood or affinal ties are designated by terms of kinship. While kinship organization defines certain permitted and restricted forms of behavior (including marriage) between relatives in general, as elsewhere in the Northern Athapaskan area it is not important for regulating interpersonal relations far beyond the nuclear family. The emotional ties of kinship depend primarily upon frequency of interaction for their reinforcement. Nevertheless, through marriage the kinship system does relate families within the society and to some extent the frequency and intensity of social interaction tends to be partially determined by such relationships.

The elementary kinship system of the Kaska is relatively simple and, with minor variations of dialect, applies to all the tribes in the area. Some terms are rapidly falling into disuse. Thus frequently the grandchild term is unknown, the native mother and father terms are ignored in favor of "papa" and "mama," and cross-cousin terminology is confused.

A list of the kinship terms, ignoring tonal modulation, is presented below. The parentheses indicate that the enclosed sound is subject to elision. The term "my" is to be read before each English equivalent.

(n)ene·'s	MF, FF, FBaS (m.s.), WF (m.s.), HF (w.s.)
(n)ene'	MM, FM, FBa, FBaD (m.s.), WM (m.s.), HM (w.s.)
ene'	F
ene'	M, MSis[a]
(n)eske·'s	S, BS[b]
(n)ete·'s	D, BD, BaD
(ga)ni·'e	eB, elder male parallel cousin, WBaS (older than ego)
(n)ele·'le	yB, *younger male parallel cousin, WBaS (younger than ego)*
(n)ne·'le	eSis, elder female parallel cousin, HBW (older than ego)

[a] ene' is an alternative term for MSis

[b] ene'ye is sometimes used for parallel cousin's son, the term signifying "stepson."

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

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(e)tɛ'tɛɛ	ySis, younger female parallel cousin, FSSW (younger than ego)
(e)ɛk'	MMB, FSoS (w.s.), HB (w.s.), WB (m.s.), SoH (m.s.), WSis (m.s.)
ekk'	MMD,[1] FSiD (w.s.), HSis (w.s.), SoH (w.s.), BW (w.s.)
(e)ɛtɛ'	FB
ɛɛɛ'	MF,[2] SoS
(e)ɛɛk'	SS, DS, SD, DD, BW
ɛ'ligɛ	H
(e)ɛ·'ɛɛ	W
(e)ɛɛɛ'	WSis (m.s.), BW (m.s.)
ɛɛɛɛɛ'	DH

It will be noted that the system makes no provision for the great grandparent generation. Individuals do not know their genealogies beyond two generations, and when necessary, more distant relatives are referred to by the grandparent terms.

The kinship system of the Kaska corresponds to the Crow type. There are four sibling terms which are extended to parallel cousins. Father, mother, son, and daughter are characterized by separate terms. Only two terms are in general use for the parents' siblings; these distinguish the father's brother and the mother's brother. The father's sister is called "grandmother" and the mother's sister is generally referred to as "mother." All siblings' children, except the sister's son, are called "children." The sister's son, however, is called reciprocally by the maternal uncle term. Provision is made for two grandparent terms and one grandchild term. Overriding of generations within blood relatives occurs only when a man is referring to his father's sister's son, father's sister's daughter, or when either sex is referring to the father's sister; all these relatives, as well as parents-in-law, are classified as grandparents.

603 The relationships between individuals constituting the nuclear family have already been discussed. Here behavior between the most important residual relatives remains to be examined. A grandparent's attitude toward the young grandchild is generally indulgent and lenient. If the individuals involved in this relationship are in frequent contact, a warm bond may develop between them. A grandfather may tease his grandchildren, but neither he nor the grandmother exercises disciplinc unless they are acting as foster parents to the child. A grandfather's advice to his grandchild is not always heeded and, while a grandparent is entitled to respect, he cannot expect his word to be accepted as inspired wisdom or law.

604 The relationship of parent's sibling to sibling's child varies according to the parent's sibling involved. The strongest ties are between the mother's sisters and their children. Because of the custom of matrilocal residence, these relatives are usually in frequent interaction. In the presence of her own or her sister's children, a woman generally refers to her married sister as "mother," rather than by the Christian name or sibling term. This probably helps to condition the warm relationship of the mother's sisters and sister's children. Children may also call their maternal aunt by the mother term, but an aunt who is too

[1] A man may also call his MMD (e)ɛɛɛ'. The ekk' and (e)ɛɛɛ' terms are frequently used interchangeably, especially for siblings' spouses.

[2] ɛɛ'ɛɛ is an alternative term for MF.

1: Honigmann E-6 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nelson ND12

young to be married is addressed with her given name. Sisters share in the care of one another's young children for short periods. Following a woman's death, the surviving children are often brought up by a surviving sister, the rationalization being that the aunt is "the same like mother." A mother's sister will rarely exercise discipline to a particularly annoying sibling's child, and then only if the mother is not present. On the other hand, if the aunt is young, she is often unmercifully teased by a five or six year old youngster.

The relationship of the father's brothers to children is ideally close, the children being referred to as equivalent to true children and the paternal uncle the "same like father," although he is not called father. A man's brother is sometimes given the care of his children, following the death of the true parents. The relationship maintains respect on the younger person's part and sexual matters are never brought up in the presence of the paternal uncle.

A woman's brother refers to his sister's daughter as his own child, but the relationship between these relatives weakens when the men leave the parents' camp following marriage. A reciprocal term is employed between a boy and his mother's brother. It was said to be all right to "talk for," i.e., refer to obscene matters, with the mother's brother. The relationship of a child to its father's sister could not be observed.

The pattern of cross-cousin terminology may be summarized as follows:

	(m.s.)	(w.s.)
FbS	(c)ese'n	(c)ele'
FbD	(c)ese'	ele'
MSB	(c)ele'	(c)ele'
MSD	ele' or (c)ese'	ele'

Marriage between father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's son is prohibited. On the other hand, father's sister's son and mother's brother's daughter "can talk to each other" (i.e., they are permitted sexual mating) and are preferential marriage mates.

One of the most important social relationships obtains between father-in-law and son-in-law. With an industrious son-in-law, a man can enjoy from active hunting and women himself to trapping some nearby animals of fur, while the younger man goes to a more remote part of the trap line and keeps the family supplied with meat. The son-in-law is also expected to offer his cooperation for housebuilding and other tasks to which the older man may require assistance. The ideal expectations patterning a son-in-law's behavior are often not fulfilled. Old Ishen had two sons-in-law living in his settlement and complained that both did not hunt often nor far enough and that they were not industrious trappers. In most observed cases, relations of the son-in-law to his father-in-law were characterized by respect and reserve coupled with a little good-natured kidding. There was no evidence of submission on the part of the younger man. Process Lake men tend to show extreme shyness of the father-in-law. "They keep it like a hundred years ago," Old Ishen observed. Referring to his own youth, he illustrated the changing norms that are slowly crystallizing in this relationship when he said: "I used to talk fun with father-in-law. He shy but I laugh."

Extreme reserve tends to characterize the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law, but there is no restriction on these relatives remaining in one another's presence or on their eating and drinking together. When observed between Harry Long and Ishen Ishen, the mother-in-law avoidance seemed sustained more by the old woman's shyness and em-

[illegible] between Chi Hsiao's avoidance behavior. Even when unmarried, Chi Hsiao never relaxed in her manner.

Between cousins' husbands, who call each other "brother," there is evidence of good friendship and some cooperation. Such brothers-in-law often have together and frequently visit each others' homes. They also sometimes engage partnerships. Talk of a sexual nature is not supposed to occur in the brother-in-law's presence, because "he's married to my sister." Between a man and his wife's sister there is generally good natured interaction. A man may tease his sister-in-law and she may offer to help him in some task requiring assistance, particularly when he is with a friend. Women avoid unnecessary intimacy with the relative. Thus Louisa Wan recounted a joke which only the ethnographer (inadvertently her sister's husband) and her brother-in-law, Hsiu Donnelly, were in the room. She would not even be tempted to be the go-through the open door. During interaction where sexual approaches were several times attempted by Chi Hsiao's sister-in-law toward their unmarried sister-in-law, Louisa. The latter firmly resisted their attentions.

In general, the Kinship Set tells much to place interpersonal relationships with relatives in kinship terms. The reasons are apparent. Kinship is used as of right experiences in defining relations beyond the nuclear family, and the intensity of wider social relations is governed by frequency of interaction. It is consistent, therefore, that only the most intimate and persistent relations with consanguines are marked by use of kinship terms. Non-relatives are most frequently classified as grandfather, brother, sister, and by the sibling-in-law terms, for son, daughter, and parent terms are avoided in such situations.

Several instances of predicted kin relationships were observed. If two persons of considerable age difference are thrown into association, the younger person may refer to the elder by the grandfather term. The behavior toward this conventional grandparent may vary from respect to kowtow. The elder person toward a generally familiar and indulgent concept the predicted grandchild, either by reference by the given name.

In case Chi Hsiao was host to his daughter's husband's mother, Lady Sun, who was also his current wife's father's sister's son's wife. Chi Hsiao took to calling her "sister." All his daughters called her "grandmother."

When the ethnographer and his family became guests of Chi Hsiao they were also incorrectly classified within the kinship system. The ethnographer's wife was called "elder sister" by Chi Hsiao's daughters. This combined with the expression of sororital relations, in which a daughter brings her husband to her parents' settlement in law. The ethnographer logically became a son-in-law. The ethnographer's children were not called by kinship terms except very often Louisa Wan addressed David (4) as "younger brother." The expected usage here would have been any ("our sister's son").

Young men who are not related but are interacting in a drinking party often address one another as "brother-in-law." As pointed out above, sibling terms may be used between associates. When kinship terms are extended to non-relatives, they are almost always emotional reciprocity rather than referentially. A respondent is referred to and addressed as "mother" and "sister."

Among men, between whom there is no relationship, the given name is generally used as a term of address and often the given name or the full name as a term of reference. A man

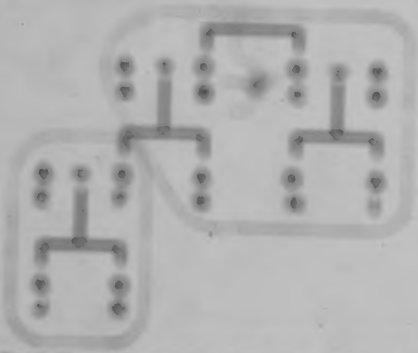

Fig. 1: [illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

9: Monograph E-3 (1960-1963)1994 SD:12 Release SD:12
Dease River
Kaska River

9. A wife's or husband's parents are merged with grandparents.
10. Self is classified with grandchildren but Delle is terminologically differentiated.
11. There are two grandchildren terms applied according to sex and extended as indicated in (1) and (9) above.

The extension of kinship merging terminology to group Da and Delle represents a difference between Dease River and Upper Liard River kinship usage that may indicate longer matrilineal residence and matrilineal descent in the former area.[1]

Clear evidence of joking between grandparents and grandchildren could not be obtained for the Dzingeetsne. The informant, himself an elderly man, evinced that grandparents exercised an effective and disciplinary role over grandchildren. A boy avoided his real or classificatory sisters after he as well as they had reached puberty. Prior to that time they played together freely. A sister continued to see associates and often clothing for her brother as long as he remained in his parents' household. Following marriage she exchanged gifts with her brother's wife. Two Dease River informants mentioned sororate references to speak of cross-cousin marriage but considered cross-cousin marriage was locally unknown, together with the fact that these relatives remained on terms of easy familiarity even if they did not wed. A man's relation to his deceased wife's and brother's wife. The awareness of sexual and, perhaps, the formation of these subsequent children are reflected in "The Story of the Dease River" related by Dan.[2] In this folk tale an orphaned boy who had been harshly treated succeeds in doing what nobody else had managed to achieve, breaking the Dease River's power. The youth alone his work to gain credit for his feat. Eventually the credit is lifted, whereupon the boy overcomes Dease River, is made "chief" by the people, and takes his uncle's older wife as his own. He refuses to have anything to do with her younger co-wife. Psychoanalytically minded readers will readily discern the Oedipus situation in this folktale.

Friendship patterns remain to be discussed. Two men might informally institute a close friendship, in which they would trust and assist together. They addressed each other and/or ("pal like me").

Kaska Data. Although informants seemed to hesitate to classify the Kaska (Nahani) people apart from the Dease River Indians, a number of differences in the terminology between the two areas suggest that we isolate the former region as the point for special consideration. The differences are particularly interesting because they reflect a social structure which has not fully matrilineal emphasis, exogamous moiety organization. Such an interpretation coincides with the fact that the Kaska Area is relatively peripheral to the area of formative matrilineal organization, the Northwest Coast. The data collected from Mark Shagnon, our Kaska Dene informant, follow.

[1] Goodwin, Social Organization (1942), 438
[2] Dan, Kaska Tales (1977), 108-109

[redacted]

Exhibit F-197

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. Cross-cousin kinship terminology is confused by the existence of sibling terms as Dy[illegible] and Sy[illegible], as well as in parallel cousins. Dy[illegible] and Sy[illegible] are, however, distinguished from other cousins, the two being consanguineally described with the Sy[illegible].

2. Eskimoan collateral terminology distinguishes between Gfa, Gfa[illegible], and Gy[illegible], as well as between Fa, Fy[illegible], and Fy[illegible]. However, Gy[illegible] is merged with the grandmother.

3. Eskimoan merging terminology describes the following pairs: Da, Da[illegible] and Sy, Sy[illegible]. However, Da[illegible] and Sy[illegible] are classified as grandchildren.

4. No reciprocal terms appears between Sy[illegible] and Da. The maximal words term, as already indicated, is extended to include the Sy[illegible].

5. Parents-in-law are classified with grandparents.

6. As in the Dravo-Given basis, the son's spouse is classified like a grandchild, Da[illegible] is consanguineally believed.

7. There is only a single grandchild term, extended to include Da, Da's sp, and Sy[illegible].

Problem. A common social unit among the Tadzwa was the true family household, which according to the informants usually consisted of "one husband," their wives, and children. Kinship terms of the Tadzwa husband are given below.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1934 ND12 Nelson ND12

Frances Lake

with ego Wi.
woman say Ba.
woman say Dalla, Dalla, Dalla, Dalla.
woman say Da Ba.

Terms for FaSiSi and FaSiDa could not be secured. The following features are readily apparent:

1. Indications are that Frances Lake retains terminology, like that of the adjacent Upper Liard River Indians, is Crow in type.

2. Bifurcate merging results in the classification together of Ma and MaBi.

3. Generation terminology leads to the grouping together of Da, BrDa, and SiDa. One's son is classed with BrSo but Sibs is terminologically described with MaBi.

4. Reciprocal terms apply between MaBi and SiDa. However, SiDa is classified with daughter, an already indicated.

5. Parents-in-law are classified with grandparents. FaBi is also merged with the latter lineal relative.

6. SoWi is classed with Da. The DaHu is terminologically isolated by the son-in-law term, which is the one common to the whole inconnu-area area.

7. There is only a slight grandchild term.

Seeking to the almost perfect correspondence between the Frances Lake and Upper Liard kinship systems, A word of caution is suggested in the fact that the informants was married to an Upper Liard Indian woman.

Summary. What common features link the inconnu-area kin term systems? Some generalizations emerge from a study of the data and may be summarized as follows?

1. Crow-type cousin terminology gives way in the western part of the Cassiar to Iroquois terms. Here there is also an absence of sodalities organization.

2. Bifurcate merging is manifested in the identification of Ma and MaBi. The merging of these terms fails to appear in the Stikine River bands and among the Tahltan.

3. Bifurcate merging is manifested to a tendency to identify terminologically Sa and BrDa, Da and SiDa. Children of a sister are frequently distinguished from own and brother's children. Thus SiSo is classed with MaBi among the Upper Liard, Dease River, Tahltan, and Frances Lake Indians. SiDa is merged with Da in the Upper Liard and Frances Lake tribes, with MaBi among the Dease River and Tahltan people, and with grandchild along the Kechika (or Muddy) River.

4. A term is frequently used reciprocally between MaBi and SiSo.

5. Bifurcate merging results in the identification of grandparents and parents-in-law.

6. Bifurcate merging results in the frequent classification together of SoWi and grandaughter. DaHu is consistently designated by a son-in-law term.

It is well to remain aware of the fact that the kin term systems presented are those which informants have thought me. They in fact were current in 1943 and 1944. There is no certainty that the terms correspond to those used thoroughly although a considerable degree of agreement may be assumed. It is likely that careful research in the Cassiar will reveal a number of errors in the present writer's material, partly because the genealogical method was not used. Experience has demonstrated to me the value of this method and today we would not try to collect kinship data without its use.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1994 ND12 Helmen ND12
Upper Liard

Two grandparent and four sibling terms (generally extended to parallel cousins) are found throughout the area. In general the kin terms are consistent with a system that includes matrilocal residence, matrilineal moieties, casual polygyny, sororate, and asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage with the MoBrDa or FaSiDa.[8]

SOCIAL UNITS LARGER THAN THE FAMILY

Two permanent social groupings larger than the family or kin group may be distinguished in the Canton, the band and the society. It is scarcely possible to discern band economic or social clusters, the latter term referring here simply to a distinction between rich and poor families. The term "band" designates the interrelated extended family group with its combined hangers-on or adopted children. Several such units occupying contiguous districts constituted the unorganized and highly amorphous macroeconomic band for which we have used the word "tribe."[9] Beyond speaking a similar dialect and intermarrying, the component units of a macroeconomic band experienced little feeling of solidarity. Vague shifting boundaries further reduced the integration of these groups. As already pointed out, relatively large aggregates of people remained in temporary association around a fish lake in summer and winter. Such transitory villages, however, probably did not usually include an entire macroeconomic band, although the persons of living and playing together, like marriage, must have encouraged feeling and thus strengthened the integration of the people in a territory.

Upper Liard Basin. Bordering the winding valley of the upper Liard River lay the territory exploited by the extended family bands of the Nahlin'agotana. Little could be revealed about these units except that on occasion, in winter and summer, many of them camped in one place (*tsaana'tdene*, "lots of people stay together"). Each of the largest very bands recognized a headman. As one informant said, "Before the arrival of the white men there were many bosses" (K). These leaders were primarily family heads so that, according to Chapple and Coon's system of analysis, one (i.e., hereditary) political organization remained only incipiently realized in aboriginal Kaska society.[1] The headman's ability as a leader, a quality that attracted people to join his band, also helped him to accumulate wealth. When need required, his food resources were freely distributed among the band members. A leader held authority as long as he lived. Upon death a son succeeded to the position of family chief. Should the youth be a poor or indifferent hunter, any other man in the band might be called upon to assume leadership. The death of a headman probably caused a redistribution of the band's personnel around one or more new leaders. Leaders who lost competence found themselves ignored, the people adhering to a more intelligent man. The headman's functions necessitated keen food getting. His wisdom derived from experience, and the ability to speak convincingly reinforced his authority in moot matters. When food resources ran low the

[8] See table, pp. 65, 66.

[9] This terminology was first employed to describe the social organization of the Dog Rib Indians (Sara Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave*, 1945), pp. 62-63.

[1] These writers have defined non-political authority as existing when an individual or group originates orders or policies other than de jure. Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (1942), p. 524.

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[illegible] that by the in-law's avoidance behavior. Even when consanguineal kin, Obi Vike never related to her mother.

Between wives' husbands, who call each other "brother," there is evidence of good friendship and some cooperation. Such brothers-in-law often have together and frequently visit each others camps. They also sometimes engage partnerships. Talk of a small nature is not supposed to exist in the brother-in-law's presence, because "he is married to my sister." Between a man and his wife's sister there is generally good natured interplay, a man may tease the woman, and she may offer to help him in some task requiring assistance, particularly when he is with a friend. Women avoid unnecessary contact with the relative. Thus Louise Vike returned a gun which only the ethnographer (inadvertently her sister's husband) and her brother-in-law, Hans Donnelly, were in the room. She would not even be handed to the gun through the open door. During pregnancies three social approaches were observed being attempted by Obi Vike's sister-in-law toward their concerned sister-in-law, Louise. The latter firmly resisted this attempt.

In general, the Kaska Tut term used to phrase interpersonal relationships with relatives is kinship terms. The reasons are apparent. Kinship is used a of right appearance in defining relations beyond the nuclear family, and the intensity of wide social relations is governed by frequency of association. It is consistent, therefore, that with the most intimate and personal relations with consanguines are marked by use of kinship terms. Non-relatives are most frequently described as grandfather, brother, sister, and by the sibling-in-law terms. No son, daughter, and parent terms are avoided in such situations.

Several instances of avoidance relationships were observed. If two persons of considerable age difference are thrown into association, the younger person may refer to the older by the grandfather term. The behavior toward the conversational grandparent may vary from respect to teasing. The older person himself a generally familiar and indulgent toward the younger grandchild, whom he addresses by the given name.

In case Obi Vike was host to his daughter's husband's mother, Lady Rae, who was she her current wife's father's sister's son's wife. Obi Vike used no sibling-in- "sister." All his daughters called her "grandmother."

While the ethnographer and his family became guests of Obi Vike they were also accurately classified within the kinship system. The ethnographer's wife was called "sister-in-law" by Obi Vike's daughters. This combined with the expression of emotional warmth given, in which a daughter brings her husband to her parents' settlement to live. The ethnographer logically became a son-in-law. The ethnographer's children were also called by kinship terms except when Louise Vike addressed Trevor (4) as "younger brother." The expected term here would have been one ("my sister's son").

Young men who are not related but are associating in a kinship term, often address one another as "brother-in-law." As pointed out above, sibling terms are to used between members. When kinship terms are extended to non-relatives, they are always always employed reciprocally rather than referentially. A respondent is referred to and addressed as "brother" and "sister."

Among men, between whom there is no relationship, the given name is generally used but men of children and other the given name or the full name as a term of reference. A man

on her person. She wore if she desired other shoes and long necklaces of strings of barbells and beads, etc., such as used by women in general. There were in addition to those used by her as a marriageable young woman. Although now living among the people the girl had to act as a shy and retiring boy and before adversity. She should not talk much, especially with men. She spoke sometimes to her father but seldom to her brothers and male cousins. She could, however, look at them as she wished. Some informants say girls did not care to see their brothers and sense of their own glorious and did not encourage conversation with them. They somewhat deny the use by girls to bits of straw which they tied to their clothes, when they showed to speak with sense of their own glorious (see Swanton p. 178). All these restrictions were observed on the end of four years.

Girls' ornaments were not used after marriage as in later life. Some was not used on the head until after marriage and only for lovers.

PUBERTY OF LADIES.

The time at which boys commenced training was in a general way less definite than that of girls. Boys commenced training about the time their voices changed or when they were big enough to undertake hunting and go on large hikes. Then some lads commenced to train at an earlier period than others. Boys were usually one

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[34]

[37]

[38]

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1 Elsewhere in the Intermontane area designates granddaughter.

children of to kinship behavior, joking obtained between grandparents and grandchildren. The former sometimes reminded being teased and reprimanded junior relatives [illegible] "Just wait awhile, 'You'll be old too when your time comes. Look after your grandchildren." Avoidance obtained between siblings of opposite sex. An older boy sometimes heavily addressing his sister (real or classificatory) and limited his interpersonal [illegible] with her.[3] Any reference to the sexual organs in the presence of siblings of father's opposite sex brought severe scolding. Some degree of familiarity obtained with [illegible] siblings, although marriage with a paternal uncle's consort was prohibited. [illegible] sexual relations with the father's sister were commonplace. Following sexual [illegible] the sister is said to have "married me more." Respect governed behavior [illegible] mother's siblings. Part of a man's shyness with his mother's brother stemmed [illegible] fact that the latter was regarded as a prospective father-in-law, to whom [illegible] "shy," "we also rejoiced." A man sometimes jokingly referred to his sister's children as [illegible] Strong reserve also marked relations between a man and his mother-in-law [illegible] concrete camaraderie linked brothers-in-law. However no undue familiarity entered [illegible]. A man enjoyed teasing his brother's wife and sexual allusions were [illegible] topic in their relations. For example, a married man might inform his [illegible] that he would quit his wife in order to pursue her. Close friends addressed [illegible] with the brother-in-law term, *ada*. No ritual acts marked the initiation of [illegible] Asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage with the Medicine or Pelican line [illegible] mentioned.

Sex Classifier Words. Below is a list of kinship terms employed among the Indians of [illegible] River basin.

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[illegible] *a*
[illegible] my Mother, Mother, Wife (m.s.), Mother (m.s.).
[illegible] my Mother, Father (m.s.), Wife (m.s.), Mother (m.s.).
[illegible] Sr.
[illegible] Mrs, Wife
[illegible] Father
[illegible] Mother, Wife, Wife
[illegible] my Sr, Sister
[illegible] Sr, Sister
[illegible] my elder, elder, 2 elder than ego, Father, Mother
[illegible] my elder, elder, 2 younger than ego, Father, Mother
[illegible] my elder, elder, 2 elder than ego, Father, Mother
[illegible] my elder, elder, 2 younger than ego, Father, Mother
[illegible] Mother, Wife (m.s.), Wife (m.s.)
[illegible] my Mother (m.s.), Mother (m.s.), Wife (m.s.), Wife (m.s.), Wife (m.s.)
[illegible] my Mother (m.s.), Mother (m.s.), Wife (m.s.)

[illegible] my Wife.

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] the Tlingit brother and sister interact also structural, these relations are speaking as such.
[illegible] Wife, Study of the Tlingit of Alaska (1954), 168.
[illegible], p. 188.

4: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Natane ND12
Dease River
Kechika River

5. A wife's or husband's parents are merged with grandparents.
6. SoW is classified with granddaughter (so Dulla is terminologically differentiated.
7. There are two granddaughter terms applied according to sex and extended as indicated in (1) and (5) above.

The extension of bifurcate merging terminology to group Da and BrDa represents a difference between Dease River and Upper Liard River kinship usage that may indicate longer matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent in the former area.[7]

Clear evidence of joking between grandparents and granddaughters could not be obtained for the Kaskapotena. The informant, himself an elderly man, stressed that grandparents exercised an educative and disciplinary role over granddaughters. A boy avoided his real or classificatory sisters after he as well as they had reached puberty. Prior to that time they played together freely. A sister continued to sew moccasins and other clothing for her brother as long as he remained in his parents' household. Following marriage she exchanged gifts with her brother's wife. Two Dease River informants manifested considerable reluctance to speak of cross-cousin marriage but asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage was finally admitted, together with the fact that these relatives remained on terms of easy familiarity even if they did not wed. A man's mother-in-law demanded respect and avoidance of undue intimacy. However the pair of relatives were permitted to engage in necessary conversation and could freely eat together. A son-in-law was expected to "feed" his father-in-law, especially when the latter became too old to hunt. A man joked freely with his wife's sister and brother's wife. The treatment of orphans and, perhaps, the formation of close unhappy children are reflected in "The Story of the Water Man" related by Tsii.[8] In this folk tale an orphaned boy who had been harshly reared succeeds in doing what nobody else had managed to achieve, breaking the Water Man's power. The youth allows his uncle to gain credit for the feat. Eventually the uncle is killed, whereupon the boy overcomes Water Man, is made "chief" by the people, and takes his uncle's older wife as his own. He refuses to have anything to do with her younger co-wife. Psychoanalytically minded readers will readily discern the Oedipus situation in this folktale.

Friendship patterns remain to be discussed. Two men might informally institute a close friendship, in which they would hunt and travel together. They addressed each other *nadi'tsin* ("just like one"), undoubtedly a cognate of the husband term.

Kechika River. Although informants showed no readiness to classify the Kechika (Muddy) people apart from the Dease River Indians, a number of differences in kin terminology between the two areas suggest that we isolate the former region at this point for special consideration. The differences are particularly interesting because they reflect a social structure which has not fully assimilated matrilineal, exogamous moiety organization. Such an interpretation coincides with the fact that the Muddy River is relatively peripheral to the area of intensive moiety organization, the Northwest Coast. The kin terms collected from Mark Sheppard, our Muddy River informant, follow.

[7] Murdock, *Social Structure* (1949), 145.
[8] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 449-451.